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ᵛ Cṛipt illup, Cṛipt i riup, Cṛipt in epup; S., and T. after him, translate, "Christ in fort, Christ in seat, Christ in poop," that is, says the former, "Christ be with me at home and abroad, whether travelling in a chariot or a ship." Now, though this rendering is strictly grammatical, it seems forced. "In seat," "in poop," would mean, not as S. interprets, but that Christ might drive Patric's chariot, and steer his vessel. But then "in fort" would be out of harmony with this idea. I take these words to be datives from abstracts in ap: 1l lup, in latitudine, from le, broad; i riup, in longitudine, from ri, long; in epup, in circuitu, from ep, round. I may observe that *in latitudine* expresses defence "before and behind;" *in longitudine*, "right and left;" and *in circuitu*, "all round" St. Patric when a trest; and are therefore not the same as "Cṛipt rium, Cṛipt i m'begaid, Cṛipt deppum, Cṛipt tuathum, which imply protection to him when on a journey. As, however, I give this interpretation with diffidence, I shall, before discussing it, submit it to the consideration of Celtic scholars. Meantime comp. lúap, swiftness, from lú, swift; and other like forms.

* Nombeþcaebap. This word is quite plain in the manuscript, though S. puts the last two syllables within brackets. This section contains *twelve brichts*, that is, ninety-six syllables in all.

* For the words—þoip in oenbatao in bulemain baib, the MS. has the initials p. c. (unfinished o ?) i. d., but no initials for baib. I have therefore put this word within brackets.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE PAGAN IRISH.

BY J. O'BEIRNE CROWE, A. B.

THE title which heads this short paper will inspire hopes which, I fear, may not be realized. Having, however, undertaken to edit a poem such as the "Faeth Fiada," the very name of which implies pre-Christian descent, I have thought it would not be right to omit noticing certain allusions to Pagan practices which the poem presents. Meantime I would not at all maintain that the writer paid the slightest homage to those powers of nature, of which he speaks when addressing the author of nature only, or was in the least afraid of "the spells of women and of smiths, and of druids." The assertion sometimes, and even recently made, that he invokes the powers of nature, "of snow, of sea," &c., is entirely unfounded. See Dr. Todd's "Memoirs of St. Patrick," p. 431. I consider the introduction of these ornaments as merely formal, and for the sole purpose of

giving an antique cast to the composition. Yet if there are those who believe that the Irish druids were, like the Egyptian enchanter, able to imitate in a manner the wonders of the servants of God, they are only following up the earliest traditions of Ibero-Celtic Christianity.

That the Pagan Irish worshipped and invoked, as did all other Pagan people, the personified powers of nature, as well as certain natural objects, is quite true. Tuathal Techtmar, monarch of Ireland, received as pledges from the nation, "Sun and Moon, and every Power which is in Heaven and in Earth," that the sovereignty should be for ever allowed in his family. King Loegaire, again, went a-hosting once to the Laighe to demand the *Borome* from them. A battle ensued, the Laighe were victorious, Loegaire was taken captive, and compelled to give as pledges to the Laighe—*Ḥrian ocuṛ Eṛca, Uṛci ocuṛ Áep, Lá ocuṛ Ádaig, Múir ocuṛ Tír*—"Sun and Moon, Water and Air, Day and Night, Sea and Land," that he would not ask the *Borome* as long as he lived. (Conversion of Loegaire, L. U.). He was then released, and the writer further on says: "Now Loegaire goes again a great hosting to the Laighe for seeking of the *Borome* from them. He did not, however, give his pledges to his attention. After he had accordingly come to Grellach Daphil, on the side of Caisse in Mag Life, between the hills .i. Eriu and Alba their names—he perished there from Sun and from Wind, and from the rest of the pledges, for transgressing them in that time used not be dared."

A more ancient and a direct example of Pagan Irish invocation is the following from the Ta. in the same manuscript. Medb, queen of the Connachta, was pressing hard upon Cu Chulaind, sole defender of the Ulaid: Cu makes the following prayer: "*Ábeoóc-ṛa inna huṛci do cōngnam ṛṛim: áteóc Nem ocuṛ Talmuin ocuṛ Cpuinn inṛpaṛṛetaig. Ṭaibio cṛón-cóidec ṛṛiu: nṛleicpe muiṛ-cimiu, cōṛpoṛic monaṛ ṛéne ip inṛ ṛléib túat Ócáine!*" "I beseech the Waters to assist me: I beseech Heaven and Earth, and Cronn [a river in Cualnge] especially. Take ye hard warfare against them: may sea-pouring not abandon them, until the work of Fene crushes them on the north mountain Ochaine!" At this prayer the water

rose to the tops of the surrounding trees, thirty of Medb's horsemen were drowned, and Cu Chulaind slew thirty-two of her bravest heroes. As a Christian invocation the following appears very Pagan, *Leb. Oll.* :—

Óbpaímm in Comuib cup na haicuib ampaib,
Nem gélmap con ainglib, leap tonn-ban pop talmain :

“I adore the Lord with the wondrous structures,
Bright heaven with angels, white-wave ocean on earth.”

We may, however, explain thus : “I adore the Lord, who possesses, or has made the wondrous structures : I adore heaven bright with angels—a white-wave ocean on earth.” In ancient Irish compositions assemblies of angels are frequently compared with the sea. Thus, Oengus, *Epilogue*, v. 13, speaking of the vast number of those who had gone to heaven, calls it : *am múp bpiḡach búan rain*—“that powerful, everlasting sea.” I shall now advert to druidism, but I must tell the reader that I intend to make this paper somewhat general on Ibero-Celtic mythology, while at the same time, I shall, towards the close, make some special comparisons between Gaulish and Irish druidism.

There can be no doubt whatever but the druidic religion was in a certain manner established in Ireland before, though perhaps not long before, the coming of Patrick. Now is this druidism that of Gaul? Are we entitled to apply to Irish druidism the words of Cæsar and others on Gaulish druidism? Not to do so in a general way would, in my mind, be over sceptical and wholly uncritical. The limited range of time and space—the former certainly not very extended, and the latter, the area of a single stock—and it may be added, the peculiar character of the druidic Church must preclude the existence of any very abnormal difference in the druidism of Gaul, Britain, and Eriu. Nay, further, if we assume, as Cæsar states, that druidism not only had its origin, but, even when he wrote, its chief seat in the island of Britain, we cannot but conclude that, no matter what period we may fix on for its first introduction among us, there must have been but very little difference between Gaulish and Irish druidism. But we need not depend wholly on assumption. We can safely

say, that on this subject there is but exceedingly little in Cæsar which might not be applied to Irish druidism, as that druidism appears in our early records. These records have hitherto been a sealed book indeed, but the rapid strides, which Celtic scholarship is now making, cannot but inspire the hope that Irishmen will soon be able to write as sensibly on the gods of ancient Eriu as they can on those of Greece and Rome. It is very unfortunate that we have not had a Cæsar to give an epitome of our religious doctrines: if we had, it would have saved a world of trouble, and prevented the wildest and the most opposite theories being held on the subject. It has been generally believed that the known fact of the Gauls having worshipped the *Dii gentium*, Apollo, Mars, &c., and their co-ordinate female deities, makes against the identity of the Gaulish and Irish faith. We are told that the ancient Irish never reached the civilization point of even idol conception properly so called: that besides the heavenly bodies, they worshipped nothing but pillar stones, remarkable hills, wells, and other natural objects: that they had no knowledge whatever of the *Dii gentium* under any Celtic names or designations. T. "Mem. of St. Patrick," p. 456.

Now this sweeping assertion cannot be substantiated. The idea, for example, that the great idol of Mag Slecht, which our ancient writers speak of as made of gold, was nothing but a "massive stone pillar," without any, even the rudest representation of animal feature, is so very absurd that it need not be discussed. There is a vast difference in height of thought between the mind which assigns a guardian deity to a majestic river, and the mind which assigns one to a massive pillar stone. That the most ancient Irish idols, however, were of wood and stone is most probable, and that some of these ancient idols would be continued through pure veneration, even after the introduction of metallurgy, is also not improbable. It is possible, then, that the great idol of Mag Slecht may have been of stone, but we have no right to assume this against the concurring testimony of antiquity. It must also be remembered that the association of Crom Cruach with king Tigernmas, who was of the race of Miled, and therefore comparatively late, and in whose reign gold was first smelted "in the pits of

the east of Life" (B. L. Invasions), gives probability to this old tradition.

In the Dindsenchus of Mag Slecht, B. B., fol. 220, col. a., we read: *And pobui Cnóic ocuṛ da iṛal déḡ do clocuib úimí ocuṛ eṛeom de óṛ*: "In it (Mag Slecht) Cruach was, and twelve idols of stone around him, and himself of gold." One of the pretended pillar stones above referred to is said to have been until recently deposited in the church of Clogher, and to have been called *Cloch Óṛ*, "Stone of gold," and it is further stated that it is from this *cloth óṛ*, stone of gold, the name *Clochar* has arisen. Now the legend itself is proof positive against the existence of such an idol. *Clochar*, as any Irish scholar might know, does not mean a *stone of gold*: the form *clothar* from *clóc*, a stone, is like that of *ṛpuṫhar* from *ṛpuṫh*, a stream, and other nouns of this class with a cumulative signification. The following passage from the Ta. (L. U.) gives the meaning. *Am bátar inṫ ṛlóiz and ṛpat nóna, conaccatar docuṛetar in lia ṛorpu anair ocuṛ a céli aniar ar a cenṫ. Conṛecat ṛ inṫ aer: noṫuṫtíṛ etṛ dunaṫ Ṽergura ocuṛ dúnaṫn Ailello: ṛ de atá Maḡ Clochar*: "As the hosts were there the time of none, they saw the stone is shot over them from the east, and its fellow from the west to meet it. They encounter in the air: they used to fall between the camp of Fergus and the camp of Ailell: . . . It is from it Mag Clochair is." Here we see that a field on which there lies a heap of stones is called *Mag Clochair*. The idea of the worship of natural objects indiscriminately by indiscriminate Iberionacians has taken such a hold of us, that in a most important passage in Fiacc's poetic life of St. Patric, where we are told that the Pagan Irish adored *Sídes*, Dr. W. Stokes, "Goidilic." p. 77, renders the word *ṛíoe* "fairly mounds." I have noticed this error in my "D. L.," Dublin, 1867, and have shown, I think clearly, that *ṛíoe* here means the *ṛíoe* spoken of in the Book of Armagh. See my translation of the passage from the Book of Armagh, (D. L. p. 8), and compare it with the questions (Dr. T., "St. Patrick," p. 454) which the daughter of King Loegaire puts to the apostle of Ireland. One of these questions is: "Is (your God) everlasting?" In Irish manuscripts the *ṛíoi* are

frequently called the "everliving livings," that is, the *immortal immortals*.

Again, as to the idea that the ancient Irish had no knowledge of the great deities of Greece or Rome, it is true only in the sense that neither they nor any other nation of antiquity had a knowledge of these deities by either their Greek or Roman names or characteristics. We must not suppose that the Gaulish inscriptions are an exception to this rule. In "Apollini Granno Mogouno," for example, "Apollini" is merely borrowed from the Romans, and the true Gaulish name is "Grannos" and the epithet "Mogounos." That the ancient Irish, however, had deities corresponding to those of Greece and Rome, is certain. It is quite certain also that the Irish had as much faith in the valour and power of Neít, their god of war, as the Romans had in their Mars, or the Greeks in their Ares. But as Mars differed from Ares, so does Neit differ from both. On a near occasion, when I hope to have an opportunity of discussing in full the whole system of Iberionacian mythology, I shall endeavour to co-ordinate the deities of ancient Eriu with those of ancient Gaul, so far as these latter are known, and collaterally with those of Greece and Rome. I may state here that every day brings out some additional proof of the original identity of the Irish and Gaulish pantheon. The Irish Bodb (not Badb) has lately been, as I think, satisfactorily, though unwittingly, identified by Pictet with the Gaulish *Bodua* in the name "[C]athu-boduæ," "Rev. Arch." vol. 17, p. 13 : but at the same time neither Badb nor Bodb is the Irish goddess of war. There is one thing which M. Pictet would do well to be on his guard against, and that is—placing too much reliance on modern Irish glosses and romances. In the paper just referred to he says : "Cette Bellona (Badb) Irlandaise paraît aussi avoir été appelée Machae, ce qui est encore, un nom de corbeau. C'est ce qui résulte d'une ancienne glose citée par Stokes dans sa préface au glossaire de Cormac." The gloss is this : Machae .i. baob, no aṛí an tṛep Mōrrígan : unde mēppao Machae .i. cenṛae doine iapn an aṛplech, thus translated by S. "Machae .i. a scald-crow, or it is the third Morrigan : unde mēppao Machae, Machae's mast-feeding .i. the heads of men that

have been slaughtered." Now this gloss, even as it stands, neither proves that *bārb* is a bird, or that *Badb* and *Macha* are identical. Indeed I have never seen a passage in which *badb* is simply the natural history name of any bird whatever. In one of the most ancient Irish tales we have at present, the *Serg-lige* of *Cu Chulaind* (L. U.) two *piach*'s (*piach*. gl. *corvus*, Z. 1030) intimated by their cries the approach of *Cu* to the field of battle. If in any of the modern romances this *piach*, that frequents the battle-field, is *bārb*, it is only figuratively, as *fatidica* or *Fatua* (= *ḡarb*), and after this latter deity had become confounded with *Nemain*, who was the true Irish goddess of war. In the most ancient Irish mythological tract in existence, the account of the *Tuatha De Danann* in the *Book of Leinster*, *Fea* and *Nemaind* are the two wives of *Net*, and the two daughters of *Elcmar*, whose pedigree is known, while *Badb* and *Macha*, and *Anand*, are the daughters of *Ernmas*, whose pedigree is also known. In another passage in the same tract *Morrigin* is put in place of *Anand*, but with the explanation "*id est, Anand.*" The only inconsistency noticeable is, that the prose gives *Fea* and *Nemand* as the two wives of *Net*, while one of the poems has *Badb* and *Nemand*: but again in the *Dindsenchus* of *Mag Fea* in the same manuscript, *Fea* is given as one of the wives of *Net*. We may suppose then that *Net* had two wives, and that the second was one time *Fea* and another time *Badb*.

There is nothing more painful to the Irish student than to see the way in which our transcribers of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth century have corrupted our ancient tracts. When they met a difficult form or phrase, their invariable habit was to put it into another form somewhat resembling the original in sound, or to substitute what they thought a synonyme for it, or to omit it altogether. Thus *én gaile* "bird of valour," which M. Pictet, *ubi supra*, quoting from O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, considers the *Badb*, is nothing more or less than an attempt to explain the old phrase *lón láith*, *lúan láith*, which occurs frequently in *Lebor na hUidre*. The Irish champion was called *lác gaile*, "heat of steam," and when his champion wrath was roused, his *lón láith* or *lúan láith*, rose from the top of his head, or from his forehead, and set everything around

him in a ferment. This lón láith existed in the champion until death. In the account of the death of Cu Chulaind, his faithful Liath Macha stayed beside him, guarding him 1 céim poboí a anim and ocup pomair in lón láith ar a étun: "while his soul was in him, and the *lon laith* lived out of his forehead." (B. L.). What this lón láith exactly was I have not yet thoroughly examined, but I apprehend the lúan is that in the phrase lá in lúan, which expresses the ordinary lá inn bráta, "day of judgment." The transcriber of the battle of Magh Rath took lúan in the above phrase to mean a *bird* (lúan is a "black-bird"), and thus én gaile would be somewhat equivalent to the older phrase: in another case, p. 70, he merely alters it into lunnœ laic, "wrath of a hero." In the Tain the lón láith acts thus: atpeact in lúan láith ar a mulluc—"the *luan laith* arose from the top of his head:" atpeact in lúan láith ar a étun comba ríteitir, pemitir apnemn ócláich, co p'bo compta ppir in ppoim: "the *luan laith* arose from his forehead until it was longer, thicker than the fist of a youth, until it was equally long with the nose."

These corruptions of single words and phrases have been the source of an enormous amount of injury to true Irish history. I shall give one example in reference to the fabulous Fenian *militia* of ancient Eriu. In a chaste little piece on the causes of the battle of Cnucha, and preserved in L. U., we are told that Murne eloped with Cummall, who was pīg-pennio hEpeno, "royal champion of Eriu," at the court of Cond, heir apparent to the throne. Tadg, the father of Murne, made his complaint to Cond, who immediately orders Cummall to restore the lady, or leave Eriu. Cummall refuses to do either. "Cond (accordingly) sends his mercenaries and Urugrend, son of Lugaid Corr, and Daire Derc and his son, to attack Cummall." The champion collects his forces—further on called his muintep (family)—and fights the battle of Cnucha against Cond's party. This is the simple and intelligible cause of this battle. But now let us turn to the next oldest account of the transaction, and we shall see what three centuries' neglect of a nation's speech can do towards the falsification of its early records. In the fourth volume of the Ossianic Society's publications is a little tract on the boyish deeds

of Find, son of Cumhall, and beginning thus : *Ópála com-tinól aig ocup iníich deabtha imon fianaisecht ocup im aru-maeraigecht Eipenn idir Cumoll mac Tíenmóir ocup Uirgíenn mac Luigech Cuiri do Luaigne* : "There happened a meeting of valour and contention of battle respecting the chieftainship of the Fianns, and the head-stewardship of Erin, between Cumhall, son of Treanmor, and Uirgíenn, son of Lughaidh Corr, [one] of the Luaighne." (Ed. O'D., p. 280). In this rhapsody we have the modern *militia* cause of the battle of Cnucha, and why ? Simply because Cumhall's title "royal-champion of Eriu," like "royal-poet of Eriu," and so on, has been turned into "king of the Fennians of Eriu !" but this expression, even assuming the existence of the Fennidian *militia*, would be *πί Fenníde hEpeno*. That such a body, however, has never had a being in Eriu I hope to be able to show in another place : I shall here merely say that there are three Irish words which must not be confounded : *Féne*, an Irishman ; *penno*, a champion ; *pián* or *piánn*, a body of hunters, plunderers, outlaws, &c.

Let us now return to the Bodb and her friends. The Morrígain and the Nemain appear on different occasions in the Ta. (L. U.) : the Badb never, but the Bodb once or twice. The Nemain appears twice in Medb's camp, which she throws into confusion : the Morrígain appears two or three times, first in the shape of a bird perched on a pillar stone in Cualnge, and addressing the famous bull Dond in dark mysterious language. After the address the bull sets out for Sliab Culind, and flings off the one hundred and fifty boys who used to be playing on his back, and kills the two-thirds of them. On another occasion she appears to Cu, in the form of a beautiful lady, and tells him she is in love with him, and has brought him her gems (*reótu*) and her cattle (*moib*). Cu said he had something else than love to attend to at the time. She said when he would next engage in single combat, she would in the shape of a serpent coil herself around his feet, and hold him fast for his adversary. Cu threatened he would punish her. She kept her word meantime, but Cu defeated her and wounded her : deities are liable to be wounded, and even slain, as we know from general mythology. She was healed, however, after-

wards, though unconsciously, by Cu himself. When Cu was a lad he met with a queer sprite, who addressed him and picked a quarrel with him, and had him trodden under foot when Bodb, not Badb, with a few words inspired him, so as at once to prove more than a match for his antagonist. Of Nemain I shall say a word or two more farther on. Meantime I have thought it worth while to see if I could, without lengthened discussion, co-ordinate any of our rustic deities with those of any other people. I think I have succeeded in some cases.

The Morrighain. She is most infallibly the Bona Dea of the Romans. Like the Roman deity, her special name is concealed, and she goes by the general appellation "Great Queen," as the Roman lady does by that of "Good Goddess." As I have stated just now, she appeared to Cu in the form of a most beautiful young maiden. "Cé táí-riu?" ol Cú chulaíno. "Ingen búain ino píḡ," op rí:—"Who art thou?" says Cu Chulaínd. "The daughter of Buan the king," she says. Now Bona Dea is the daughter of Faunus, and búain is exactly the Irish form of Faunus. Again, Bona Dea is, on a certain occasion, transformed into a serpent, like the Morrighain above. Again, her sacrifice is called *damium*, herself *damia*, and her priestess *damiatríx*, words which have not yet been explained. Now, these forms are genuine old Celtic, the Latin termination *-um* being equal to the old Celtic *-on*, and *-ia* and *-iatríx* quite normal: the stem can be the Irish *ḃam* (Lat. *bos*.) Again, Bona Dea is said by some to have been an Hyperborean, and, accordingly, it may be that Celtic land has given the goddess and her worship to the Romans. The idea that such may be the case receives support from the form *bona*, which may have been originally a proper name, old Celtic for Fauna, another name for Bona Dea, and from the circumstance, that the Morrighain is always engaged about bulls and cows. We have seen her above addressing Dond Cuailnge: we find her again in the same tale offering her cattle to Cu, and again milking the cows of Triphne. In the Dindsenchus (B. L.) I find her coming from Sid Cruachain, her proper residence, and stealing away a bull for a certain purpose. The lady Odras and her gilla, who had charge of the bull, go to look for it. Odras

presumes to make towards Cruachan : the Morrighain meets her—*condepnā lnd upci di Odrar*—"so that she made a pool of water of Odras." This is the river Odras to the west of Sliab Bodbgnai. Again, in the Tain we have the famous Find-bennach, the "white-horned" bull of Cruachan, sacred to the Morrighain, set in opposition to the Dond Cuailnge, the "brown" bull of Cualnge : all mythological, and several myths rolled into one.

Morrighain was also, as we have seen above, called *Anu*, and was the goddess of prosperity and wealth, as we learn from the following gloss on *Muma* (Munster) .i. *mo a hana nár ána cáe coigib, ar ip inri noádrad ban-dia int rónura* .i. *Ána a hainm fein : ocup ip uatí ríde ipberap da chig Anann or Luachair Oeda* : .i. "greater its wealth than is the wealth of each province, for it is in it used to be adored the goddess of prosperity .i. Ana her name : and it is from her is called the Two Paps of Anu above Luachair Deda." [H. 3, 18, 565 : a MS. of Trinity College, Dublin]. These "two paps" appear to me to be evidently a trace of the peculiar worship of Bona Dea : they are also mentioned in Cormac's gloss on Ana, and *en passant* I shall make one remark on that gloss. In the oldest copy, that published by Stokes, the gloss begins thus .i. *mater deorum Hibernensium : pobu maith óin porbiathad na dee* :—"the mother of the Irish gods : it was *good, then*, she used to feed the gods." Now, it is evident that these words are not genuine. How does *maith*, *good*, and *óin*, *then*, fit in here? Very badly indeed. I am almost convinced that the original ran somewhat thus : .i. "Bona Dea Hibernensium : pobu maith óin," &c., where *maith* would be an explanation of the epithet Bona : or, perhaps in Irish : .i. "*Ban-dia Maith nan Goedel : pobu maith óin*," &c., where *maith* could very easily become *mater*. The gloss *supra* correctly refers *Anu* to one, wealth, Z. 1052.

Badb. In Macrobius, Sat. i., 12, it is said that Bona Dea, Fauna, Opis, and Fatua, are one and the same. So in the gloss quoted *supra* *Badb* is *altered* the third Morrighain. This *Badb*, then, is the Lat. *Fatua* exactly, but not the Gaulish *Bodua*. *Fea* (for *Ofe*?), the second wife of Net, might be Opis. That an Irish *p* = occasionally a primitive *p*, admits of no doubt.

It has been seen that I have distinguished above between *báob* and *boob*. Let us try if there is any authority for this distinction. In L. U., the most ancient Irish manuscript now remaining, *báob* occurs once in the text, and two or three times as a gloss: *boob* three or four times in the text, once personified, as in the case of Cu Chulaind referred to above, and two or three times as an abstract noun. The only place I remember to have seen *báob* in the text is in the word *báob-rcélaí* (gen. sing. or pl.), in the sense, I think, *fatuum*, "*absurd*." In the following case *boob* is an abstract noun, and cannot have this meaning. Cu Chulaind is in a passion: *atcheppa na calenne boobba ocup na cit-nella neime ocup na haible tened tricem-púaid in nellaid ocup in aepaid uap a cind ne fiucud na fepge fír-gairge hitpáct uapto*: "the flakes of fume, and the drip-clouds of blaze, and the sparks of fierce-red fires, were seen in clouds and in skies above his head with the boiling of the truly-fierce wrath that rose above him" (Ta). With "*calenne boobba*" compare "*in buinne díriuic doño-pála*" in the following passage a few lines after. *Arbuidir, immoro, pemuidir, talcuidir, tpeuidir, riuidir, reól-érand pum-lu[n]gi móru in buinne díriuic doño-pála atpáct a fír-élete a ceno-mullaig hī cept-airdi, con deppa dub-éiaicn dpuidecta de, amal éiaig do píg-brudin in tan tic pí di a tincup hī fepcup late gempeta*: "Higher, however, thicker, firmer, stronger, longer than the sail-tree of a large chief-ship the straight pipe of brown fume, which rose from the very point of his head-peak in right-highness, so that he made a black fog of druidism of it, like a fog from a king-*Brudin*, the time a king comes to its preparation in an evening of a winter day." In this passage *doño-pála* would appear to express the *booba* of the preceding; and in the following passage from the Battle of Magh Lena, ed. O'Curry, p. 30, the word *pála* is used in the same sense, but translatively: *ní éaimic fíadail ap a bpála*, "no weeds had grown upon their animosity." O'D. in his Supp. to O'Reilly's Dictionary, renders *booba*, as applied to a *road*, by "dangerous:" but it properly means "impassable on account of mist, or darkness."

In some glosses *cpu* (blood) and *boob* are made to mean the same thing, but this is secondarily: and, as in

Greek and Roman mythology the Furies are always covered with filth and gore, so also is our Bodb, who is one of the three Furies, and the chief of them: and this Bodb is undoubtedly the Gaulish Bodua. The Latin root should be *fot*, *fod* or *fud*: we might perhaps comp. "fumus" (= *fud-mus*?). At any rate Bodb cannot be *Badb*, the sister of Anu, or the Morrigan (Bona Dea), the chaste daughter of Ernmas and king Buan. I may observe that O'D. ("Battle of Magh Rath") and after him Pictet ("Rev. Arch." vol. xviii., p. 1), erroneously write Erumas, for the Ernmas of B. L. On a future occasion I hope to be able to examine the words *badb* and *bodb* more fully.

As to Nemain, the Irish goddess of war, I have no doubt but S. has, in his introduction to "Three Irish Glossaries," correctly equated her with "Nemetona" in the "Marti et Nemetona" of De Wal, p. 237. From Nemetona we should have normally Nemethon: this contracted would give Nemthon, and with the omission of *.th*. Nemon, the form in Cormac, and with a change to the *-i* declension Nemain (= Nemani), the form in L. U. The change from the fem. *a-* declension to that of *i-* may be compared with the dat. Belesami (nom. Belesama) in the Vaison inscription, and the omission of *.th*. has its parallel in *riup* (sister) = *pethap*. Net, the husband of Nemain, = a Gaulish Nemetos, or Nemetios, Lat. "*Sylvius*" (comp. Mars Sylvanus), as *pét*, way, = Lat. *semita*. Thus for the Lat. "Marti," above referred to, we might have a Gaulish "Nemetio;" so that "Nemetios et Nemetona" would be the Ir. "Nét ocup Neman." On the same principle comp. our famous "Clidna" with the Gaulish "*Clutondae*:" "Augusto sacrum, Deae Clutondae" ("Rev. Arch." 1865, p. 387). Macha, sister of Badb, I must reserve for another opportunity.

All the deities here spoken of, with the exception of Bodb, are, according to Ibero-Celtic mythology, *Sides*, that is to say, deified mortals. There are in Irish two words—*riu*, "a vault for the dead," and *rioe*, "a resident therein"—which have been confounded, and neither of them hitherto understood. The former is the Lat. *situs*, a substantive, and the latter *situs*, a participle. As I have discussed these words in my *Daim Liace*, p. 8, I shall only

observe here, that when we are told the pre-Christian Irish worshipped idols, the idea is that of Pagan idolatry in general ; while in Fiacc's poetic life of St. Patric they are said specially to have adored *Sides*. The temples of these deities I conceive to have been the vaults in which they were buried, such as New Grange, which was most certainly the great *Sid* of the Brug, that is, the Plain. And now I must observe once for all, that the word *bpuḡ* means a *plain*, and that the plain through which the Boyne runs was, *par excellence*, usually called *the Brug*, and occasionally *Brug maic Indoc*. In the following passage from S. C. (L. U.), the simple and the fuller designation occur. *Am bápa em oc dūl dāp Fán in chappait do Cnuc Side in bpoḡa i Tulaiḡ in Topcompaie im bpuḡ maicc Inóóc, &c.* :—"As I was then a-going over Slope of the Chariot to the Hill of the Sid of the Plain in the Plateau of the Assembly in the Plain of Macc Indoc." In the Feast of Bricriu (L. U.), Cu Chulaind says : *porpūur mōiu ocup in Liath mōi-bpuḡi Epeḡ .i. bpeḡa, Mīoi, Muperc, Muptemni, Maca, Maḡ Meoba, Cuppec, &c.* :—"Myself and the Liath (one of his steeds) have to-day gone over the great plains of Eriu, namely, Brega, Mide, Muresc, Murthemne, Macha, the Plain of Medb, Currech," &c. Here we have some of the Brugs, or great plains of Eriu. Indeed Eriu itself is called by the poets *bpuḡ Banba*, "the Plain of Banba." From this *bpuḡ*, supposed by our Ir. scholars to mean a palace, we have, they say, *bpuḡin*, never taking care to learn that the word *bpuḡin* has nothing whatever to do with *bpuḡ*. The correct spelling of this so-called diminutive *bpuḡin* is *bpuōin*, of which see *postea*. We must not be deceived by the Index "Brugh na Boinne" of the Four Masters, for though O'D. inadvertently admitted this phrase, it does not occur in the Masters or indeed in any other manuscript, so far as I know. The expression, however, would in itself be quite correct, as meaning the plain through which the Boyne flows, just as "Currech Life," denotes the plain through which the Liffey flows : but it must be borne in mind that it could not mean any particular spot. Curious enough, however, the formula reversed does occur, that is, *Boano in bpoḡa*, "the Boyne of the Brug," this genitive epithet indicating that the Boyne passes through the

Brug. A confusion between *bpuḡ* and *bopḡḡ*, or *bopc*, is the origin of the misconception that *bpuḡ* means a particular spot, a palace. The word *bopḡḡ* must have been well known in ancient Irish, as we have it in Oengus: *polín bupcu in beḡḡa*, "hath filled the burgs (towns, cities) of the world." Prol. v., 70. The *Sids* were scattered over Ireland, and in and around them assembled for worship the family or clan of the deified patron. While we had thus a number of topical deities, each in a particular spot where he was to be invoked, the deities themselves, with the rest of their non-deified but blessed brother spirits, had as their special abode *Ṭípe nam ḡeó*, "Lands of the Living," the happy Island or Islands somewhere far away in the Ocean. This *Side* worship had nothing to do with druidism—in fact was quite opposed to it, and must have preceded it in Ireland. The *Sidi* and the druids are frequently found at variance with each other in respect to mortals. Thus in the "Adventures of Condla Ruad" (L. U.) the *Side* goddess, who comes to carry off Condla, tells Cond's druid that druidism has no grades conferred on it in "Great Land," another name for the Irish Elysium, and that as soon as the Law (the Christian?) would come, the demon should cease to utter his incantations through the mouths of druids.

These *Side* deities, like those of other nations, not unfrequently begat children from the daughters of men: such children were, of course, demigods. Thus Lug Mac Ethlend, upwards of a thousand years after his sojourn on earth, begat Cu Chulaind from Dectere, the wife of Sualtain, and sister of Conchobur Mac Nessa. Hence the extraordinary bravery of Cu Chulaind. On a certain evening (Ta.), when Cu was fatigued and wounded, his charioteer Loeg saw a strange personage fully armed making towards them right through Medb's camp. He was dressed in green, purple, and gold, and invisible to all except Loeg and Cu Chulaind. "Who art thou at all?" says Cu. "I am thy father from the Sidi, namely, Lug Mac Ethlend," he says. He then heals Cu's wounds, and lulls him to sleep for three days and three nights, and promises to contend himself with the hosts during that time.

Now, I dare say I shall be considered heretical if I make

Cu Chulaind a purely mythical and mythological being, but most certainly in a certain sense *that* he is, and that alone. His age at the time of his death has been variously given, but generally ranging around thirty. The following passage, however, never referred to before, and the most ancient in existence on the subject, fixes his age at thirty-three. The verses are found at the close of Scathach's final address to Cu "Tochmaire Emere" (L. U.) :—

Ceopa bliadna ar t-rén-tríadair
 Da t' neire ar do loch-namuib;
 Trída bliadna baḡim-pe
 Sur do gaili gnáit-ḡéiri.
 O rin immač ní fuilim-pe,
 Do raegul ní mbeirim-pea:

"Three years over strong thirty
 Thou shalt be in thy power over thy numerous foes:
 Thirty years I boast
 The activity of thy usual-sharp valour.
 From that forth I add not,
 Thy life I declare not.

Here we have the great hero compared to Christ in regard to age, and it is well known that an eminent German mythologist has seen in the hero of the Niebelungen (more anciently Niflungen, "the children of the clouds," *the O'Neils*), merely a mythic personage, whose story is founded on the life of the Redeemer. In the case of Cu Chulaind every thing confirms the view, that his whole history is a fabrication of this kind. He has an immortal father, and a mortal mother of the royal line. He is born in a district remote from Emania, the Jerusalem of the kingdom: he steals away when a child from his mother to contend against the hero-youths of Emania, as Jesus steals into the temple to contend against the Jewish doctors. His boy deeds till the age of seven are an imitation of the legendary early life of Christ. He is brought up by Culand the artificer, as Christ is brought up by Joseph the carpenter. His proper name was Setanta, which he laid aside for "Cu," "Hound" of the fold of Emain. For thirty years he is employed in defending the weak against aggression, and always victorious. The last three years of his life, like those of our Redeemer, are nothing but misery and trouble;

and finally he dies after being pierced by a dart, and after having taken a drink, and standing erect with his back to a pillar-stone to which he had tied himself—ná p' ablao in a iudiu nac in a ligu; combao in a ierppam at-balao :—"that he might not die in his sitting, or in his lying; that it might be in his standing he might die." B. L., fol. 78, b. His enemies gather around him, but for some time dare not approach him : anaoap leó nobo beó, "they imagined he was alive." (Ib.) Hundreds of other illustrations might be given from the life of Cu Chulaind, but these are sufficient. How unjust it is to Celtic history and tradition to lay down as sober facts the records of those purely mythic tales, the proper investigation of which would give light and pleasure to the human mind! I trust this paper, which is, I believe, the first systematic attempt to carry mythological inquiry into the very heart of Irish history, will do something towards the encouragement of a study, which, though extremely laborious in itself, yet carries with it its own reward, and offers one other charming attraction to the lover of our unrivalled ancient literature.

Having now discussed our natural object and idol worship, and glanced at the part which some of our spiritual guardians had been wont to take in our affairs, I shall, before referring to actual druidism, see what our records say in regard to some of our ancient festivals. It is usually admitted, nay, there are positive proofs, that the ancient Irish worshipped the sun. Indeed it would be strange if they did not. But the worship of the sun, as connected in popular tradition with May day, is quite a delusion. Beltaine, the most ancient orthography, cannot possibly mean "Fire of Baal," while at the same time the May fires of modern days are quite unknown to our olden records. The only fire known to them is the universal fire of Samain, the first of November. This is most probably the fire in dispute between St. Patric and Loegaire, and not the May fire : for Samain is called in L. U. the *pasch* of the Gentiles : *pep Tempa ceca Samna, ap ba hi pioe cairc nan Gencae* : "the feast of Temair every Samain, for that was the *pasch* of the Gentiles."—Birth of Aed Slaine : (L. U.) In the Destruction of Brudin Da Derga, same manuscript, the writer states it as the opinion of some that

the Samain fire had its origin in the fire lighted by the sons of Dond Desa, as a warning to Conaire of the approach of the plunderers: *com̃b̃ d̃i'ñ t̃eñoáil̃ úc̃ l̃eñt̃ap̃ t̃eñoal̃ Samnã ó p̃m̃ cõ p̃ũioĩ, oc̃up̃ clõc̃ã h̃ĩ t̃em̃b̃ Samnã* : "so that it is from that fire the fire of Samain is followed from that to this, and stones in the fire of Samain." That the ancient Irish, however, held a solemn and general festival on a certain day, which has thence received the name of the day of Beltaine, may, I think, be fairly proven both from the analysis of the word, and from the modern fires of St. John's Eve. In Z. 769, *belũc̃* is glossed *compitum*, "cross-way;" and we have in Ireland several topographical names beginning with *belũc̃*, though a great many of these *belũc̃*'s have become *belach*'s, and *bél Átha*. *Beltaine*, then, must be a compound of *belũc̃*, "cross-road," and *aine*, "game," or the last member, is merely an affix like *aine* in *pecht̃m̃-aine*, "a week." This Beltaine festival is the *compitalia* of the Romans, which were held about the beginning of the new year with sacrifices at the cross-ways to the rural Lares. Now, the first of January of the ancient Romans would, in an agricultural point of view, correspond exactly to the first of May of the ancient Irish. On the other hand, however, that the sun was a chief deity with us, as well as with the Gauls, may, I think, be satisfactorily shown. I have long thought that the great moat of Granard was the site of a temple to the sun. This place is called in the Tain (L. U.) *ḡráñap̃iũb̃*, dat. of *ḡráñ-aĩpẽb̃*, and glossed .i. *ḡráñ-á̃p̃b̃ iñbĩũ*, "Granard today." In another place in the same manuscript the final letter is *τ*. This word is a genuine compound, and *ḡráñ* is correctly explained by late writers *ḡráñ*, sun (= Gaulish *Grannos*, fem. *Granna*), and *aĩpẽc̃*, *spatium*. There are several *aĩpẽc̃*'s in Ireland: these I shall examine on a future occasion, and see if I can make anything of them in reference to "temple enclosures."

I have no doubt but the reader has in the preceding pages met with some things which, if not well founded, are at least national, and may therefore fairly claim his indulgence: but what I am going to say just now, though quite as national, is yet so novel that I fear he may not allow this claim. I must tell him, however, in the outset, that I am

more afraid of his anger than of his criticism ; if he will only restrain the former, let him give full play to the latter, and I shall have the greatest confidence in the result. Some few years ago I proposed to myself the task of examining the exact nature of our ancient Brudins, and the result of that examination would have ere this been before the public, if some very strange motives had not interfered to prevent me carrying out my project. I can, therefore, say only a word or two on the subject at present.

Up to the beginning of the Christian era we had in various parts of Ireland a certain public establishment called *bṛudin*—in later writers erroneously spelled *bṛuigin*. Thus Brudin Da Derga, near Tallacht ; Brudin Blai, where the wife of Celtchar Mac Uithir was, and where Cu Chulaind (Courtship of Emer), says himself was brought up ; Brudin Forgaill Monach, near Lusk ; Bruidin Maic Cecht, on Sliab Fuirre, in the county of Galway ; Brudin Da Choga, near Athlone, and so on. The most celebrated of these was Brudin Da Derga, the destruction of which, about the beginning of our era, forms the subject of a most curious tale in *Lebor na hUidre*. We are told that these institutions were large farm-houses, always open for the king's servants and all comers, but we are told also, that in each was a magical cauldron called *Coire Ainsicen*, which was never taken off the fire, which gave his proper share to each, and from which no one ever went dissatisfied ; and further, that no matter what amount was put into it to be boiled, there would come out of it only what was sufficient for the company.

This again is turning mythology into history. It seems strange that, with the birth of Christ these Brudins disappeared. If they were only feeding-houses of this kind, should we not see them rather increase in splendour with the introduction of the Law of Love ? But most certainly these Brudins were something of a different kind. Any person who reads the tale of the destruction of Brudin Da Derga, and contemplates the supernatural features attending that destruction, will see at once that this establishment was a religious institution. A certain personage takes a stealthy peep into it, and describes the sights he saw, and these sights are explained by the person to whom he tells them. It is curious that among all the sights described,

champions, poets, pipers, pig-sacrificers, pig-roasters, and so forth, the druid is not named. The two last sights were the drink-bearers of the King of Tara, and the swine-herd of Bodb from Sid Arfemain; and the exponent says that every feast this swine-herd had ever come to had ended in blood.

Again, as the spy was peeping into the temple a certain person was going through a certain performance, and failed in it; from this he knew that some one must be looking on. He accordingly tells Fer Caille, another mystical being, to slay his pig and divine who was at the door of the Brudin, with intent on harm to the men of Brudin. Fer Caille does so, and this is valuable as telling us the animal from which divination was made in ancient Eriu, and it is the only case in Lebor na hUidre where an animal is slain for that purpose: it is also valuable as an illustration of the warlike character of our ancestors, inasmuch as the pig was the only animal sacrificed to Mars Sylvanus, the primitive god of battle.

Now is there any thing to be had that could throw light on these ancient Irish brudins? I think there is. In the first place, *bpuoin* does not seem to me to be an Irish word: it is a fem. subst. = *brudina*. Is this *brudina* a corruption from the Greek *πρυτανείον*, or are they both corruptions from some other more ancient form? The latter is probably the case, for *πρυτανείον* is as strange in Greek as *bpuoin* is in Irish. At any rate the Irish institution Brudin seems to me to be the Gr. *πρυτανείον*. In every independent district of ancient Greece, and also in a few other places nearer home, there was a *πρυτανείον*. This *πρυτανείον* was a common temple for that independent people, and if at any time that people had to succumb to foreign power, the *πρυτανείον* was abolished. Thus the existence of a *πρυτανείον* anywhere was the symbol of independence. It was a religious institution sacred to Hestia (Lat. *Vesta*). In it the perpetual fire was always kept up, and if a colony was sent out from any people, from the *prytaneium* of that people was brought the fire to light the new fire of the colonial *prytaneium*. It was a public feeding-house, like the Irish brudin, for citizens who had deserved well of the State, for the destitute orphans of such citizens, for strangers on political visits, for foreign ambassadors especially, and so

on. Was there ever any thing more like an Irish *brudin* and its perpetual fire under the perpetual cauldron? Before each feast there was a sacrifice, and Poseidon and Hestia were frequently combined: Hestia, Apollo, and Poseidon were worshipped in common at Delphi. So the Brudin Da Derga—and it may be every other Irish *brudin* was situated in the same way—was built on each side of the Dothra (*corruptè* Dodder), which flowed through the centre of it. Of course an artificial stream would satisfy the religious idea. In accordance with this character of a *brudin*, it was prophesied that Conaire the monarch could not be conquered or slain, or the *brudin* taken, unless Conaire were killed through thirst. The Britannic druids, it is said, contrived to bring about this fatal thirst, and not only that, but to dry up the Dodder and all the great lakes and rivers of Ireland, save the celebrated fountain Uaran Gara only. Conaire accordingly died of thirst, and the monarchy was destroyed for a time, and with it, of course, all the *brudins* in Ireland.

As a further illustration of the spiritual character of the Irish *brudin*, I may remark, that the expression for being "in the fairies" is, and has been for centuries, in spoken Irish the same as "being in the *brudin*." *Τά πέ ιρηαν μβρυδην* means "he is in the fairies," never *τά πέ ιρ να προιβη*, "he is in the *sides*." The word *bruidhín*, meantime, in the popular acceptance, does not mean a residence or a place, but is taken as a collective noun to mean "fairies," like *φίανν*, Fenians. If there is any foundation for the correlation here made, it will advance the actual civilization of ancient Eriu farther back into antiquity than our greatest enthusiasts have ever dreamed of: it will also increase confidence in the records which bind old Eriu to Greece, and in a measure account for the fact, that the word *βλίσωμ*, the Ir. for "year," finds its sister only, so far as I can yet see, in Hesiod's *πλειών* (= *πλειδών*) "a year." When the Irish *prytaneium* flourished in all its integrity, the calendar for its festivals required the course of the *πλειδων* to be accurately known. The *βρυτον* is abolished, but that indestructible thing—its name—still survives, a name which, with its associate *βλίσωμ*, is, in my mind, very valuable for Irish ethnology.

In the beginning of this paper I said that it would be uncritical not to apply to Irish druidism, so far as we are not forbidden to do so, the statements of Cæsar and others on Gaulish druidism. Acting on this view, I shall here make a few comparisons between the two branches: at the same time these comparisons must be very succinct.

Transmigration.—"In primis hoc volunt persuadere non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios":—"they are specially anxious to have it believed that souls do not die, but after death pass from one to another." We may here see, from Cæsar's "volunt persuadere," how far above his own idea was that of the Gaulish druids; this, however, is not our subject. Now, if Cæsar had said *ad alia*, which perhaps he did, instead of *ad alios*, we should have the Irish and Gaulish transmigration the same. Irish transmigration means the soul's passing from man into other animals—man and all subordinate animals included. Thus Fintan, in the story of Tuan Mac Cairill, passes into a wild ox, that is, a deer: then into a boar, then into a hawk, and so on. This is Ir. transmigration, called by the Greeks *μετενσωμάτωσις*, "transformation of one body into another," while the Gaulish is *μετεμψιχωσις*, "transmigration of a soul into the body of another human being." Our transmigration is correctly called in Scéla na Érépṡi (L. U.), "*metaformatio*," which is illustrated by the change of a human body into that of a wolf: *mo érépṡi dī an iḡ ainm*, "*metaformatio*" .i. *carpmcruṡad*, *iapn dēpmipeṡt na comṡt*:—"the resurrection for which is the name *metaformatio* .i. transformation, after the example of the wolf-shape." (My Ed. p. 21.) *En passant* I may observe that this passage is the oldest authority we have for the human wolves of the Osrairi.¹ But is this transformation Druidic doctrine? Most certainly not: it is purely Pythagorean, and must have for many centuries preceded druidism in this strange land of ours.

Cæsar calls the ministers of the druidic religion by the general name of druids. Strabo distinguishes thus: Bardi,

¹ This is the correct orthography (= Os-sararii), "Ossararians," which name occurs first in Lebor na hUíde, our oldest

Irish manuscript. "Ossar" was the name of Conaire's lap-dog: *vide* the "wolves" of Ossory!

Vates, Druidæ. He says that when Cæsar writes: "Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant," we are to understand him as meaning the *vates*: and that Cæsar also denotes the *vates* when he says: "Multa præterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, &c., disputant"—"they discuss much besides about the constellations and their motion, about the size of the universe and of the world, about the nature of things, and so forth" (Strabo, lib. 4). Now I think that Strabo is certainly misled when he thinks that Cæsar means the *vates* here. This office certainly belonged to the chief class, that is, the druids proper, and I am almost sure Strabo is here confounding astrological magic with actual scientific astronomy. Diodorus thus speaks of the *bards*: 'Εἰσὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦς καὶ ποιηταὶ μέλων, οὗς βαρδοὺς ὀνομαζούσιν: "and there are among them makers of songs too, whom they call bards."

In these passages we can see clearly three classes—druids, prophets, and bards. The druids were simply the priests in dignity and teaching: the *vates* or prophets were the sacrificers, inasmuch as they were to divine from the victim; the bards were our *filis*, so far as poetry was concerned, but the Ir. *filí* was far superior in dignity to the Gaulish bard. In our religious system we had only the *ὑπὸ* and the *πῖλ*: the bards with us were of late origin, and had no official position in church or state. Indeed nothing can prove the late introduction of druidism into our country more satisfactorily than the utter contempt in which the name *bard* is held in all our records. Had druidism been introduced from either Gaul or Britain, even in the days of Cæsar, we should certainly have the *bards* occupying the position which our *filis* have always held. In our ancient records we find the same individual occasionally a *ὑπὸ* and a *πῖλ*, and I make no doubt that our *πῖλ* preceded for many centuries our *ὑπὸ*, and for those many centuries was the chief minister of religion. After the introduction of our irregular system of druidism, which must have been about the second century of the Christian era, the *filis* had to fall into something like the position of the British bards, but still retained much of their ancient functions. Hence we see them down to a late period practising

incantations like the *magi* of the Continent, and in religious matters holding extensive sway. Thus the *glám dícenó*, a most terrible thing in its way, was all their own without the intervention of a druid.

My late introduction of druidism into Ireland cannot be refuted by the appearance in our manuscripts of druids from the days of Noah to those of Patric. It is well known that in our later writings we have seen druidism in everything. But let us examine our older compositions—pieces which bear about them intrinsic marks of authenticity—and we shall be astonished to see what a delicate figure the druid makes in them. If we begin with the hymn of St. Patric, we find the word mentioned once only, while idolatry and various other matters occupy a prominent position there. Let us pass on to our next tract, Fiacc's life of St. Patric, and we find the author entirely ignorant of druidism. Instead of introducing the apostle of Ireland as overcoming druidic magic, he speaks of the tribes of Eriu as adoring *Sides*, and we know that the *Side* adoration was in direct opposition to druidism. In Dallan Forgaill's *Amra* the word does not occur. In the next tract, Brocan's poetic life of St. Brigit, druidism is unknown: in the next, Colman's hymn, it is unknown: in Ninnine's Prayer of about the same period the word occurs once. In the next great composition, the *Felire* of Oengus, consisting of upwards of a thousand lines, the word never once occurs. What are we to infer from all this? Why, that druidism was never a properly established system in this country: that the stray, and perhaps the many druids, whom the Roman persecution in Gaul and Britain drove over here, were looked up to as magicians, and as such were taken into the keeping of our kings and princes. In this irregular way, however, Irish druidism was spreading and organizing itself in due course, though it had not time for development before the arrival of Patric. This fact accounts for the easy conversion of Ireland to Christianity. How would our apostle have fared in an attack on Gaulish druidism about a century before the Romans had broken up its highly organized constitution? With ill success, I fear, so far as human efforts might go. In the Book of Armagh we find, for the first time, the druids of Tara brought out in bold relief: but

this is done for the sole purpose of exalting the Christian hero who was soon to destroy their power. Mean time I should say that, though Irish druidism never attained to anything like organization, still its forms and practices, so far as they attained to order, were in the main the same as those of Gaul.

One arch-druid: an annual assembly in the middle of Gaul. "His autem omnibus druidibus præest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem Hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quæ regio totius Galliæ media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato." "Now, over all these druids presides one, who has supreme authority among them. These, in a certain time of the year, take their seat in a sacred spot in the territories of the Carnutes, which district is considered in the middle of Gaul." (Ib. cap. 13). That the Irish druids had also a *prym-ynui*, "arch-druid," whose seat was in Meath, is evident from the Dindsenchus of *Mide*, and that they assembled annually, that is, on the first of August, on the hill of Uisnech, which was regarded as the middle of Ireland, is also evident. Cæsar adds that the druids, at this assembly, decided all controversies, &c. On this point I am not able to speak fully at present as regards the Irish druids; that the *fili*, however, acted occasionally as judge is evident from many passages.

Immunities of druids: their course of studies. "Druides a bello abesse consuerunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendent; militiæ vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitata premiis et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt, et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur, itaque annos nonnulli vicens in disciplina permanent:" "The druids are wont to be absent from war, and pay no tributes like the rest: they have exemption from military service and immunity of all things. Excited by such great rewards, many even of their own accord come to them for instruction, and are sent by their parents and relatives. There they are said to learn a great number of verses, and so some remain twenty years under instruction." (cap. 14.) These words may be applied to the Irish druids. The getting off a great number of verses

refer to the bards, who are our *filis*; and though twelve years was the Irish curriculum, according to the Leb. Oll., it may be that many, through dullness of apprehension, or other causes, continued under discipline with us as long as with the Gauls. The great number of disciples attending the Gaulish druids finds its parallel with us. Cathbad, for example, the druid at the court of Emain—if we allow druidism there in the first century—had a hundred pupils in daily attendance (Tain. L. U.). Cæsar's statement that the Gaulish druids committed none of their tenets to writing, though the art was known and practised in all other concerns, public and private, is very valuable: for it shows that the Irish druids might also have been acquainted with the use of letters, though neither they nor their Gaulish confrères have left us a single line to enable us to say so.

In cap. 18, Cæsar says that the Gauls, considering themselves as descended from Dis, the god of the infernal regions, and consequently of darkness, ended their periods of time, not by number of days, but of nights, and that they "so observe birth-days and the commencements of months and of years, that day follows night." This idea is preserved with us in Fuined, a name for Ireland, as well as for the "Abyss:" and also in the fact that our Calendars are called *Felires*, that is, *Vigilaria*, having reference to the eve of a festival, while *festilogium* has reference to the day itself. Our Irish scholars translate Fuined by "West," but the following passage from the Vision of Adamnan (L. U.) shows its true meaning: *Dia roforcongar in Comdiu par anglib ind fúimio oplocud in talman píar na apptalaib, co rofégtáir ocuf co roinnmísgáir hip-perno con a il-píanaib*:—"When the Lord enjoined on the angels of the Abyss to open the earth before the apostles, that they might view and that they might contemplate hell with its many pains." This word fúimio is an *a*-stem, and is entirely different from the word púimio in the phrase púimio gréne "setting of Sun," as this latter is a *u*-stem. Fuined would be equal an original *Vanada*.

Human sacrifices. Cæsar, *ubi supra*, cap. 16, says that the druids offered wholesale human sacrifices by burning. In our ancient records there is nothing like this, so far

as I know, though at the same time it may have been a rule in Irish druidism. We have, however, instances of public burning for great crimes, especially female immorality, and these may have been sacrifices to the supposed offended deity. Thus Eile, who has given her name to Bri Eile, was for a crime of this kind burned publicly in a *teine tulaí*, "hill-fire." Again, in the Causes of the Battle of Cnueha (L. U.), Murne, daughter of Tadg, druid to Cathair Mor, was carried away through force by Cummall, and yet her father would have her burned, if he had not been afraid of the vengeance of Cond Cet-chathach. Again, great breaches of faith were punished by burning. Thus among the pledges given in the case of the three kings of Emain, that they should rule by rotation, were seven chiefs, to *slay* and to *burn* whichever of them would not resign at the end of his seven years. I may observe that the ashes of persons thus burned, or burned by supernatural fire, were usually flung into a river running into the sea, or into the sea itself. Thus in the Sailing of the Curach of Mael Duin (L. U.), the navigator and some of his crew landed one day on an island in which was a beautiful dun. In this dun was a splendid apartment hung all round with gold torques, and other ornaments. No living creature was seen in the island, save a cat who was playing about in the apartment. One of the men, contrary to his master's wish, took one of the torques with him, but, as he had reached the Les, the cat gave a bound right through him like an arrow of fire, and instantaneously reduced him to ashes. Mael Duin took up the ashes and flung them into the depth of the sea.

From the way in which the cases of Murne and Eile are spoken of, as well as those of others, it would appear that both law and custom left the family criminals to family punishment. This was the case in ancient Gaul, and Cæsar gives an exact parallel, cap. 19: "The husbands have the power of life and death over their wives as well as their children ; and when the father of a family of a rather illustrious name has died, his relatives assemble, and if any suspicion arises about his death, they hold an investigation on the wives as on a slave, and if anything wrong is discovered, they put them to death with *fire*, and all sorts of tortures."

Parallels on many other points might be given, but as my paper has already extended far beyond the intended limit, I shall conclude by giving an example of a funeral sacrifice in ancient Eriu. The record occurs in L. U., and is therefore of great authority, and being the only one of the kind I know of, I deem it of vast importance. Ailell is on his sick bed, dying with the love of Étain, who is left to take care of him until she has laid him in his grave : *Poppácbad Étáin hi fáil Ailella con deppaíctír a éiuḡ-maine le .i. co p'clapta a p'ep, co poaḡta a ḡuba, co po opta a cethpáir* : "Étain was left in company of Ailell that his last offices might be performed by her .i. that *her* grave might be dug, that *her* lamentation might be acted, that *her* quadruped might be slain." (T. Et.). Here it would seem from the form of the expression that Étain, as being the cause of Ailell's death, calls what should properly be *his*, her own : thus *her* grave, *her* lamentation, *her* quadruped. It may be that Étain intended to lay herself in the grave with Ailell, and that in such cases this was the custom. The whole matter is very curious, and I shall feel obliged for any parallel from either within or without.

On glancing back at the Translation of the Faeth Fiada, I find that the phrase "in nearness and in farness" is reversed, and should be "in farness and in nearness : " and that in the next section, instead of "hereticians"—line 4—we should have the words "gentileism, against false laws of hereticians." In the Introduction I pledged myself to an exact reproduction of the Irish text, a thing which had not yet been done, and I think I have succeeded, though I am sorry to have it to say that the Board of Trinity College refused the Honorary Secretary permission to have my copy finally collated with the original. I wish it to be understood that, in the Reference Table, "Lebor Ollaman" includes what is so called in the Book of Ballymote, as well as the Tract which immediately precedes it, as the one is merely a repetition of the other.